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TEACHERS' ORIENTATION TO KINDERGARTNERS' DIFFERENT INTERACTIONAL COMPETENCES: TELLING PERSONAL EXPERIENCES DURING SHARED READINGS OF PICTURE BOOKS

Myrte N. GOSEN¹

Abstract: This paper is centered around 106 tellings of personal experiences during shared readings of picture books in kindergarten classrooms. It is shown that teachers orient to different interactional storytelling competences of their pupils. Teachers are found to contribute to pupils' tellings by inviting them, by showing reciprocity, by asking follow-up questions during the telling and by responding to them after the telling. These teacher responses illustrate that teachers are mainly oriented to the interactional competence of telling a *relevant* personal experience that is in line with the initial question of the teacher and the story that has been read to the pupils. However, less frequently, teachers also display an orientation to the content of the story and herewith offer room for the interactional competence of telling a personal experience in a more general, less context-specific, and less institutional sense. Teachers' different orientation to the competences of the pupils also provides insight into the various interactional roles of the teacher. Teachers actively behave as a 'teacher recipient' as well as a more general story recipient. Finally, the teacher also invites the other pupils to be story recipients. The interactional behavior of the teachers in this particular setting shows that discussing personal events in relation to the content of picture books creates opportunities for pupils to develop educational as well as everyday interactional competences.

Keywords: Conversation analysis, interactional competence, storytelling, shared reading, kindergarten

Özet: Bu çalışma, anaokulu sınıflarında resimli kitapların ortak okumaları sırasında 106 kişisel tecrübe anlatımının etrafında yoğunlaşmaktadır. Öğretmenlerin öğrencilerinin farklı etkileşimsel hikaye anlatma yetilerine uyum sağladıkları gösterilmektedir. Anlatma süresince öğrencileri davet ederek, kendilerinin alıcılıklarını göstererek ve ilave sorular sorarak ve anlatmadan sonra onlara cevap vererek, öğretmenlerin öğrencilerin anlatmalarına katkıda bulundukları ortaya çıkmaktadır. Öğretmenlerin cevapları göstermektedir ki öğretmenler esas olarak kendilerinin başlangıç sorularıyla ve öğrencilere okunan hikayelerle aynı doğrultuda olan uygun bir kişisel tecrübe anlatımının etkileşimsel yetisine yönelmektedirler. Ancak, daha nadir olarak da olsa, öğretmenler hikayenin içeriğine bir yönelme göstermektedirler ve bu sebeple de daha geniş, daha az bağlamsal ve daha az kurumsal anlamda kişisel bir tecrübenin anlatımının etkileşimsel yetisine yer sağlamaktadırlar. Öğretmenlerin öğrencilerin yetilerine gösterdikleri farklı yönelimler onların çeşitli etkileşimsel rollerine ışık tutmaktadır. Öğretmenler, daha genel anlamda bir hikaye alıcısı olmanın yanı sıra aktif olarak bir 'öğretmen alıcısı' olarak da hareket etmektedirler. Sonunda, öğretmenler diğer öğrencileri de hikaye alıcıları olmaya davet etmektedirler. Bu özel ortamda öğretmenlerin etkileşimsel davranışı göstermektedir ki resimli kitapların içerikleri ile alakalı kişisel olayları tartışma öğrencilere eğitimsel ve günlük etkileşimsel yetilerini geliştirmeleri için imkanlar sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Konuşma çözümlemesi, etkileşimsel yeti, hikaye anlatma, ortak okuma, anaokulu

1. Introduction

Storytelling in classroom interaction has not been studied in close detail before. This paper therefore focuses on storytelling based on personal experiences during shared reading sessions in kindergarten classrooms. This paper examines how the telling of personal experiences is interactionally constructed by teller and recipient(s). This question is answered with a particular interest in how the teacher contributes and responds to the telling of a personal event and how

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this gives insight in teachers' orientation to kindergartners' interactional competences in this particular storytelling activity. The focus on the interactional co-construction of children's personal storytelling differs from mainstream perspectives on the development of children's storytelling abilities. In this paper, children's storytelling competences are not 'defined in purely individual terms [...] but to be conceived as capacities that are embedded and expressed in collective action' (Mondada & Pekarek-Doehler, 2004: 515).

This study will consider the ways in which teachers and pupils co-construct tellings of personal events in relation to the experiences of the book characters. Teachers contribute to the telling of a personal event by inviting the stories, by displaying reciprocity, by asking follow-up questions and by ending the storytelling. These interactional practices will be elaborated upon to illustrate that teachers appear to be mainly oriented to the interactional competence of telling a *relevant* personal story that is in line with an initial question of the teacher and the story that has been read to the pupils. However, it will also be illustrated that, less frequently, teachers display orientations to the interactional competence of telling a personal experience in a more general, less context-specific, and less institutional sense.

2. Narratives and storytelling

Narratives play a central role in society. According to Labov (2011) forms of communication like novels, film and interviews 'may draw upon the fundamental human capacity to transfer experience from one person to another through oral narratives of personal experience' (546). Labov and Waletzky (1967) describe these narratives of personal experiences in terms of sequences of events. These sequences of events do not necessarily form the basis of a telling, since narratives are not always remembered and told as a set of ordered events. Norrick (2010) for instance points at the reconstruction of events at the moment of telling a narrative and at fitting memories of past events to the present context. It differs whether a story is spontaneously told or solicited explicitly. And once elicited, a narrative may be told in response to a general request or to a more specific request for a narrative for a particular purpose (Norrick, 2010).

So, the context and the elicitation of a story influence a narrative's structure. Simultaneously, the activity of storytelling itself influences a story's structure since storytelling is an interactive activity that is collaboratively achieved by a storyteller and a story recipient (Jefferson, 1978; Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Lerner, 1992; Norrick, 2010; Sacks, 1995). Even when told spontaneously, a story only becomes a story when recipients collaborate with the teller by offering room for the telling. Recipients play a role in story prefaces, story tellings and story reception (Lerner, 1992).

By displaying reciprocity in different phases of the story telling, it is accepted by the recipient that there is a temporary asymmetry in conversation. Sacks (1995) differentiates between recipient responses within a story and at the end of a story. Utterances like 'mm hm' and 'yes' are typically placed 'within the story' as to recognize that the story is still going on. Utterances like 'how nice' or 'that's too bad' indicate that a recipient has recognized the story as finished. Lerner (1992) has called this story reception and showed that this often takes the form of an assessment. Assessments display that a recipient considers the story to be complete and provide insight in the recipient's analysis and understanding of the story (Jefferson, 1978). Sacks stresses that story beginnings clue the recipient 'into what sorts of things you should watch for so as to recognize

the end, and also what sort of thing you should announce, having recognized the end' (Sacks, 1995: 766).

Stivers (2008) also distinguishes two different kinds of actions that recipient responses fulfill during and after the storytelling: *alignment* and *affiliation*. A recipient usually shows alignment 'by producing talk that is hearably relevant at the possible end of a unit of the ongoing story, and does not launch or participate in a competing action' (Mandelbaum, 2012: 500). By displaying affiliation a recipient 'displays support of and endorses the teller's conveyed stance' (Stivers, 2008: 35). Additionally, Heritage (2011) argues that there are different sorts of responses to reports of experiences. He distinguishes two forms of assessments; *parallel assessments* that describe a similar experience of the recipient and *subjunctive assessments* that display affiliation based on imagining oneself in a situation. Parallel assessments may develop into second stories. A second story can be defined to be 'told in a series in which later stories are designed to achieve a recognizable similarity with the first (or previous) story' (Arminen, 2004: 319). Arminen's study of storytelling in 'alcoholics anonymous' meetings illustrates that second stories show affiliation, display support and understanding. Besides assessments and second stories, Heritage (2011) shows that recipients may also respond by ancillary questions, response cries or "into-the-moment" responses. The different sorts of responses give sight of the potential dilemma a recipient encounters, since 'they are required to affiliate with the experiences reported, even as they lack the experiences, epistemic rights, and sometimes even the subjective resources from which emotionally congruent stances can be constructed' (Heritage, 2011: 161).

The stories central to this study are established within the particular setting of a classroom. Nevertheless, it was expected that this study would find similar responses to personal stories. This would be in contrast to, for instance, teacher assessments in a commonly seen classroom structure in which evaluations of pupils' contributions play an important role. In the generally known Initiation-Response-Evaluation (IRE) (Mehan, 1979a) or Initiation-Response-Feedback (IRF) structure (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975), pupils respond to what is known as a *known information question* (Mehan, 1979b). By responding to these kinds of questions, pupils make knowledge visible in collaboration with the teacher. Stories based on personal experiences are expected to be not known in advance by teachers and can therefore not be evaluated easily in a traditional sense. However, Koole (2012) argues that classroom assessments are multidimensional. He for instance showed that secondary school teachers assessed either pupils' knowing, doing or understanding. The question rises what teachers would assess of tellings of personal stories in the particular classroom setting of this study.

3. Method

The data in this paper are drawn from a corpus of 36 video recorded and transcribed shared reading sessions from three kindergarten school classes in the northern part of the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, the first two grades of school are referred to as kindergarten (Dutch: *kleuterschool*). The age of the children in these two grades ranges from 4 to 6 years old. All the shared reading sessions in this study are centered around books that were chosen by a team of experts and selected on the basis of their topical orientation within either a literary, social-emotional or mathematical domain¹. This selection was based on the idea that once children are stimulated to talk and think about these topics, this would contribute to their language and literacy development as well as to their conceptual development. To encourage cognitively

challenging interactions shared reading instructions supplemented the books to stimulate discussions about content.

The analyses in this paper are conducted within a conversation analytic (CA) framework (e.g. Ten Have, 2007). Firstly, a collection of 106 tellings of personal events is drawn. In conversation analytic research, a reliable collection gets established by repeatedly examining the data (Freebody, 2003). In doing so, a telling was included once there was a reference to the personal experiences of the teller and it could be considered a story. A telling was considered to be a story when pupils refer to an event or sequences of events. This excluded moments when children just refer to general social norms as shown in responses like ‘we always do it like this’ or to their own lives like ‘we also have a dog at home’.

The 106 tellings are told at 22 different moments in the shared reading sessions. This means that a telling is seldom told on its own. The longest interaction around personal tellings consists of 14 tellings of different pupils. All tellings occur during shared reading sessions of books with a social-emotional topic. Only two teachers in the project read books within this topical domain. Therefore, there are only tellings of pupils in two different classrooms in the collection. The interactions around the tellings of personal events are further investigated to get insight in how the tellings get started and how these are responded to during and after the telling. At first, the beginning of the 22 moments of tellings of personal events are analysed in close detail. This provides insight into what is asked and expected from the pupils. Secondly, all teachers’ responses to the 106 tellings are selected and analysed in terms of teacher orientation. Teachers’ responses were found to be divided in responses during and after the telling of a story and were found to differentiate in what was oriented to: the telling of a *relevant* personal event or the telling of a personal event in general. These analyses provide insight in teachers’ orientations to the interactional competences involved in telling a personal event within this particular setting. The results of these analyses will be described in terms of patterns, explicated and illustrated by examples from the data (Freebody, 2003; Ten Have, 2007).

4. Analysis

In the following, it will be illustrated that teachers are mainly oriented to the interactional competence of telling a *relevant* personal experience that shares similarities with the experiences characters encounter in the picture books. This will be shown by an analysis of the initial questions that are asked to elicit the personal experiences as well as by an analysis of the teachers’ responses during and after the tellings of personal events. Hereafter, teachers’ less frequent orientation to the general interactional competence of telling a personal story will be elaborated upon. In these cases, teachers display with their responses that it is not the telling of a *relevant* story that fits the experiences of the book characters, but that it is the telling of a personal event on its own that is addressed.

4.1. Orientation to the interactional competence of telling a relevant personal experience

As will be illustrated below, teachers display an orientation to pupils’ interactional competence of telling a *relevant* personal experience. This can be seen in their initial questions, as well as in their responses during and after the tellings of personal experiences. Concerning the responses that are produced during the telling of a personal event, a distinction is made between follow-up questions and recipient responses.

4.1.1. Initial questions

In general, the teacher launches a discussion of personal experiences with an initial question concerned with the selection of pupils that have experienced similar events, sometimes preceded by an introduction that connects the reading with the particular question. The invited personal events are therefore often elicited as an illustration or proof of that what happened in the book. Pupils answer these questions mainly by raising their hands. Hereafter, the teacher selects several pupils. Excerpt 1 shows these typical characteristics of the beginning of telling personal events.

Excerpt 1 (Eend, Van mij!, 4-17)ⁱⁱ

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
4	Teacher	the playing together TAG of merel and the	dat <u>s</u> amenspelen hè van merel en dat
5		little ghost that didn't go very well in the	spookje dat ging ↑eerst niet zo goed
		↑beginning TAG	hè
6		(.)	(.)
7	Rick?	[°no°	[°nee°
8	Kyra	[but thereafter [it went well=	[maar toen [wel weer=
9	Pupil	[no	[nee
10	Teacher	yes and later luckily it went well •hh	=ja en later gelukkig wel eens •hh
11		(0.7)	(0.7)
12	Teacher	↑whom of you has <u>also</u> experienced once	↑wie van jullie heeft <u>ook</u> wel eens
13		that the playing together did not	meegemaakt dat het samenspelen
14		[go very well	niet [zo goed ging
15	Thierry	(((raises hand)))	(((steekt vinger op)))
16		(1.0)	(1.0)
17	Kyra	((raises hand))	((steekt vinger op))

This example² shows the beginning of a discussion of personal events that takes place after the reading of a book called ‘Van mij’ (Mine!) on the topic of playing together. The teacher starts the interaction by summarizing the plot of the story (lines 4-5 and 10) as an introduction to her question in lines 12-14. Herewith, she invites pupils to tell a relevant personal event that is in line with the story. The content question is answered by several pupils raising their hands (lines 15 and 17). Hereafter (not in the excerpt), several students are invited to share their personal experiences.

Besides questions that explicitly ask for bids by their design as content questions starting with ‘who(m)’, the other initial questions in this dataset can be described as polar questions. However, these questions usually still function as a question that other initiates self-selection for the next turn of students that have experienced something that shares characteristics with the events in the book. This question format is illustrated in excerpt 2.

Excerpt 2 (Eend, Bijna jarig, 189-192)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
189	Teacher	((looks around)) has one of you ever	((kijkt kring rond)) heeft er van jullie wel
190		done something that was not allowed,	eens iemand iets gedaan wat niet
			mocht,
191	Kyra	((raises hand))	((steekt vinger op))
192	Mary	((raises hand))	((steekt vinger op))

Strictly speaking, this question can be answered with a (choral) yes or no, but it still asks for a prerequisite for telling about a personal event that is in line with the book by means of asking if there is someone in the group of pupils that has a similar experience. By the use of ‘van jullie’

(one of you) the teacher connects the pupils' possible experiences with the line of events central to the book and stresses the invitation to bid.

The initial questions illustrated above show that teachers are oriented to the interactional competence of telling a personal experience that stays close to the story of the book. Teachers are not explicitly asking for the exact same experience as the book character encountered, but the beginnings of the discussions of personal events generally show a clear connection with the book content and the experiences the characters in the book encounter. Telling a personal event is therefore often addressed as being an illustration or proof of a character's experience.

In their responses to the personal experiences that are shared, this orientation to the interactional competence of telling a relevant story becomes even more visible. During the telling of a personal event, teachers appear to monitor whether the event is indeed related to the book and/or an initial question like the questions illustrated in excerpt 1 and 2. This monitoring is displayed in the teacher's follow-up questions and in teacher reciprocity during the telling of an event.

4.1.2. Follow-up questions

Questions that are directly related to the initial question are often formatted as polar questions that ask for confirmation from the pupils. By asking such a follow-up question, the teacher implicitly refers to the initial question. They sometimes make this reference when children did not do so themselves, but teachers are also found to use such a confirmative follow-up question to repeat the essence of the question. In the following, excerpts of both kinds will be shown. Excerpt 3 shows an example of a teacher steering a pupil in the direction of the initial question (line 100).

Excerpt 3 (Eend, Van mij!, 100-121)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
100	Teacher	who knows how it goes well if you can play together	wie weet hoe dat goed gaat als je kunt samenspelen
101		(1.3)	(1.3)
102	Teacher	[kris do you know ↑that=	[kris weet jij d↑at=
103	Thierry	[(raises hand)]	[(steekt vinger op)]
104	Kris	=no	=nee
105		(2.1)	(2.1)
106	Mary	[(raises hand)]	[(steekt vinger op)]
107		(0.4)	(0.4)
108	Teacher	when- when does pl- mary ((points at Mary))	wanneer- wanneer gaat sa- mary ((wijst naar Mary))
109		(.)	(.)
110	Mary	well- well- ru:do:lf is always play:ing together with me	nou- nou- ru:do:lf die gaat altijd samen met mij spe:len
111		(0.3)	(0.3)
112	Teacher	and then it <u>does</u> go well=	en dan gaat het <u>wel</u> goed=
113	Mary	=[(nods)]	=[(knikt)]
114	Rick	[yes I ((raises hand)) [()	[ja ik ((steekt vinger op)) [()
115	Teacher	[and WHAT what	[en WAAR
116		causes it mary that it does go well then	waar komt het van mary dat het dan wel goed gaat
117		(0.5)	(0.5)
118	Mary	well if rudolf does not push me o:ver=	nou als rudolf mij niet omdu:wt=
119	Teacher	=["oo:° you are being very nice to each other=	=["oo:° jullie doen wel heel lief tegen elkaar=
120	Kris	[(raises hand)]	[(steekt vinger op)]
121	Mary	=[(nods)]	=[(knikt)]

When Mary tells about playing together with her brother Rudolf (line 110), she does not explicitly link to whether this playing together works well or not as was asked for in the initial question. The teacher then asks a declaratively formed question in line 112, which is confirmed by Mary in the next line. This is followed by a content question in lines 115-116 that elicits more details from Mary. These kinds of questions will be elaborated upon below. Hereafter, the teacher once more asks for confirmation (line 119) by means of a declarative. In this case, the teacher shows an interpretation of Mary's personal event that is less explicitly linked to the initial question. However, this question again stresses the central topic of 'playing well together' as addressed by the teacher's initial question. This illustrates the teacher's orientation to the telling of a personal event as an illustration or proof of what happened in the book and therefore displays an orientation to the interactional competence of telling a *relevant* personal experience.

The same counts for the confirmation question in the following excerpt. This excerpt is different since Dries has already told a complete event that was in line with the initial question concerned with being jealous about something someone else can do (in addition to being jealous about someone's possession).

Excerpt 4 (Eend, Kleine Ezel en jarige Jakkie, 225-238)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
225	Dries	I- I am [eh jealous [because I cannot drive	ik- ik ben [eh jaloers [omdat ik geen auto en fiets
226	Teacher	[yes [well	[ja [nou
227		(0.8)	(0.8)
228	Dries	a car and bicycle tractor	trekker kan rijden=
229	Teacher	=look you hear what eh dries says	=kijk hoor je wat eh dries zegt
230		(0.4)	(0.4)
231	Tim	hm[hm	hm[hm
232	Teacher	[yes and [that makes you a bit	[ja en [daar ben jij dan een beetje
233	Rick	[°drive a car°	[°auto rijden°
234	Teacher	jealous because you also gladly want that [TAG	jaloers op want dat wil jij ook graag [hè
235	Rick	[wha [driving a car	[wa
			[auto rijden=
236	Tim	[yes me too	[ja ik ook
237	Dries	[yes	[ja
238	Teacher	yes for example	ja bijvoorbeeld

Dries starts his event with a reference to the emotion that played a central role in this discussion. In her question (lines 232 and 234) the teacher repeats this emotion and elaborates on it by asking for a confirmation of her argumentation that is based on an interpretation. It can be said that this repetition and argumentation is done with the goal of emphasis directed at the whole class, because of the teacher's contribution in line 229. By asking these kinds of follow-up polar questions, teachers thus respond to the teller of a personal event, but also link the telling of the event to the initial question/book in sight of the whole class.

During the telling of a personal event, teachers also contribute to this by asking content questions that stimulate pupils to tell more about a personal event. These questions most often also steer pupils in the direction of the initial question or the topic of the book under discussion and therefore display an orientation to the interactional competence of telling a relevant personal experience. In the following fragment, teacher and pupils are talking about 'crying when you are happy'. When Tim shares an event but does not make explicit that this was a joyful event, the

teacher asks a content question in line 37. Here, she stresses ‘waarom’ (why) as to indicate that just mentioning ‘crying’ is not enough, but that she wants to know why he was crying. Tim’s answer to this question finishes the event in line with the topic under discussion.

Excerpt 5 (Kikker, Beer is op vlinder, 31-48)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
31	Tim	when bart or myself got out mom's belly	toen bart of ik uit mama's buik kwam
32	Teacher	ye:s	ja:
33		(0.4)	(0.4)
34	Tim	and that little was then	en zo klein toen was nog
35	Teacher	ye:s=	ja:=
36	Tim	=then dad had to cry: as ↑well	=toen moest papa ↑ook hui:len
37	Teacher	because ↓why dad had to cry then,	want waar↓om moest papa toen huilen,
38		(0.8)	(0.8)
39	Tim	cause	om
40		(0.3)	(0.3)
41		because [(of)	om dat [(van)
42	Daniel	[for [happiness	[voor [blijdschap
43	Tim	[happiness	[blijdschap
44	Teacher	of happiness he had to cry	van blijdschap moest ie huilen
45	Kris	((raises hand))	((steekt vinger op))
46	Kyra	((raises hand))	((steekt vinger op))
47	Teacher	yes because that's possible	ja want dat kan

Once Tim acknowledges that his dad’s crying was indeed caused because he was happy, the teacher confirms this and stresses in line 47 ‘that this is possible’. With these responses of the teacher, she seems to indicate that Tim’s shared experience again functions as an illustration or proof of the topic under discussion.

4.1.3. Recipient responses

Besides polar questions and content questions that display an orientation to the interactional competence of telling a relevant personal event, teachers also show this orientation with their placement of recipient responses. These recipient responses appear to be placed after the telling has come to a point that pupils name the emotional state or emotion that was asked for in the initial question. The initial question thus orients recipients to what can be heard as the end of a story. Compared to Sacks who described that the beginning of a story as part of the story 'clues you into what sort of things you should watch for so as to recognize the end [...]’ (1995: 766), in the data central in this paper, the beginning can be said to be the initial questions of the teachers.

In the following excerpt, teacher and pupils are discussing fears. During Robert’s telling of his personal event, the teacher places several recipient responses. The one in line 173 illustrates teacher’s orientation to the competence of telling a relevant story, because Robert has just literally formulated the emotion and the telling is therewith linked to the topic under discussion. Still, the recipient response functions as a continuer, since Robert continues his telling in line 175.

Excerpt 6 (Eend, Kikker is bang, 162-179)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
162	Robert	well	nou
163		(0.3)	(0.3)
164		well ↑I was- mom went to bring me to bed	nou ↑ik was- mamma ging mij op bed brengen
166	Teacher	(.)	(.)
167		yes=	ja=
168	Robert	=and then mom was forgotten my little [light	=toen was mamma mijn lampje verge[ten
169	Teacher	[yes	[ja
170	Robert	and then mom closed the door and then	en toen deed mamma de deur dicht en
171		I was <u>afraid</u> I could not find the door anymore,	toen was ik <u>bang</u> kon ik niet meer de deur vinden,
172	Teacher	(.)	(.)
173		yes	ja
174		(0.3)	(0.3)
175	Robert	((sighs)) and then	((zucht)) en toen
176		(1.0)	(1.0)
177		and then I got there and then mom was already <u>gone</u> (.) then I was afraid	en toen kwam ik daar en toen was mamma al <u>weg</u> (.) toen was ik bang
178		(.)	(.)
179		°yes° then you got a little bit afraid as well yes that's ↑right=	°ja° toen werd jij ook een beetje bang ja ↑klopt=

This particular recipient response is placed after the telling is possibly complete. After this response and a silence of 0.3 seconds, Robert continues his story. It is remarkable that the teacher again produces a non-verbal recipient response simultaneously with Robert's repeated stress on the emotion that they are discussing. Hereafter, the teacher ends his telling which also indicates that with the mentioning of the emotion the telling of the experience fulfills its function as a relevant story that was accepted as such by the teacher.

4.1.4. Final responses

Comparable to the responses during a telling, the final position is also frequently used to make a reference to the initial question and/or the topic that is under discussion in relation to the book. In excerpt 6, it has already been shown that a telling is considered to be in line with the original question. This is expressed by 'ook' (as well). Other phrases that are used to show that the telling fits the purpose of the initial question are for instance 'kijk' (look), 'zie je' (you see) and 'dat kan' (that's possible) as is shown in excerpt 7. Here, Daniel is telling about something he was afraid of before, but not anymore.

Excerpt 7 (Eend, Kikker is bang, 283-287)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
283	Daniel	well ehm	nou ehm
284		(0.9)	(0.9)
285		I once did not dare with heerenveen (.)	ik durfde niet een keer met heerenveen
286	Teacher	ehm at the playground (.) in the long-long slide but now I <u>do</u> =	(.) ehm bij het speelplaats (.) in de grote- grote lange glijbaan maar nu <u>wel</u> =
287		=look (.) you see (.) that's possible (.)	=kijk (.) zie je (.) dat kan (.) dan durf je
		then you now do dare it	het nu wel

That Daniels' telling is in line with the initial question is displayed in the teacher's response to his telling. She uses the expressions 'kijk' (look), 'zie je' (you see) and 'dat kan' (that's possible) that all show that she was searching for such an answer. 'Dat kan' (that's possible) also shows that the telling serves as evidence for that was asked for by the initial question. In her response,

the teacher also refers to the original question by explicating ‘dan durf je het nu wel’ (then you now dare to do it).

Teachers also end tellings of personal events that are in line with the initial question and/or the book content by short responses like ‘oke’. Okay is often used once pupils in their telling have referred to the emotion that is requested for in the initial question. This displays that teachers then also consider the telling as complete and appropriate. An example of this can be seen in excerpt 8.

Excerpt 8 (Kikker, Kikker is bang, 147-150)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
147	Megan	well if there are pull-strings then they	nou als d'r trektouwjes zijn dan komt er
148		always give fire that's why I am a little	altijd vuur uit daarom ben ik een klein
149		bit afraid	beetje bang
150	Teacher	↑okay	↑oké

In this fragment, Megan shared a more general fear she has. She ends her telling with an explicit reference to the emotion ‘fear’ and the teacher ends this by just saying ‘oké’. A similar ending can be seen in these cases the teachers ask a confirmation question that addresses the particular emotion. Once this is responded to in a confirmative manner (line 25), the teacher also ends the interaction with the pupil by saying ‘oké’. An example of this is displayed in excerpt 9.

Excerpt 9 (Kikker, Kleine Ezel en jarige Jakkie, 22-26)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
22	Teacher	so then he was jealous of [you	dus toen was hij jaloers op [jou
23	Megan	[[raises hand))	[[steekt vinger op))
24	Jack	[miss	[juf
25	Emmy	[yes	[ja
26	Teacher	okay:	oké:

After Emmy has spoken about a personal event in which her dad was jealous about something, the teacher stresses the emotion from the initial question by doing a request for confirmation. Once completed, the teacher ends this and continues with giving the floor to another child. The following excerpt illustrates that teachers also stress the relationship between the telling and the initial question or the book in a more direct sense. They do so by assessing a telling as being a good example. This again shows that the tellings are considered to be a proof or illustration of the question and/or the events in the book.

Excerpt 10 (Kikker, Kleine Ezel en jarige Jakkie, 42-53)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
42	Ben	uh	uh
43		(1.5)	(1.5)
44		dad was also () a bit jealous	papa was ook () een beetje jaloers
45		(0.6)	(0.6)
46		() that he did not want to get sick	() ie niet ziek wou worden
47		(0.4)	(0.4)
48	Teacher	that he- he did not want to get <u>sick</u> no I	dat ie- hij wou niet <u>ziek</u> worden nee dat
49		can imagine that as ↑well	kan ik me ↑ook wel voorstellen
50		(0.9)	(0.9)
51		that he is jealous of all the people that do <u>not</u> get sick	dat ie jaloers is op alle mensen die <u>niet</u> ziek worden
52	Samuel	•hh[h ((raises hand))	•hh[h ((steekt vinger op))
53	Teacher	[yes I think that is a very nice example ben clever	[ja vinnik wel een heel goed voorbeeld ben knap

In this fragment, Ben is sharing an experience of ‘jealousy’. The teacher extensively responds to this in lines 48-51 and in line 53. In this final line, she is explicitly stressing that he offered a good example for the topic under discussion. This excerpt explicitly illustrates that teachers are oriented to the interactional competences of kindergartners telling a relevant personal experience that may function as an illustration or proof of (an understanding of) the events in the book that has been read.

4.2. Orientation to the interactional competence of telling a personal experience in general

In the data, teachers less frequently display an orientation to the interactional competence of telling a personal experience in a more general, less context-specific, and less institutional sense. Teachers’ orientation to the interactional competence of telling a personal experience in general is shown in their responses during and after the tellings of personal stories. There appears to be no difference in the initial questions that elicited the personal events.

4.2.1. Follow-up questions

Teachers are found to ask follow-up questions that display an orientation to the interactional competence of telling a personal experience in general in cases that pupils have already told about an event and in doing so related this explicitly to the initial question. The questions that follow upon such a telling ask for an elaboration instead of a completion in line with the initial question. An example of this can be seen in excerpt 11. Here, Kyra reveals something she did that was not allowed. In line 204, she ends her telling by an explicit reference to the initial question in line 195 by repeating that this ‘was not allowed’. She thus frames her answer completely in line with the initial question. Still, the teacher asks a follow-up question in lines 206-207. This question asks for more information instead of missing information that is needed to connect the personal experience to the initial book-related question.

Excerpt 11 (Eend, Bijna jarig, 195-215)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
195	Teacher	((looks around)) did you once do something that was not allowed,	((kijkt kring rond)) hebben jullie wel eens iets gedaan wat niet mocht,
196	Kyra	((looks at teacher)) I did	((kijkt naar leerkracht)) ikke
197	Teacher	((leans backwards)) well kyra what did you do that was not allowed=	((leunt achterover)) nou kyra wat heb jij dan gedaan wat niet mocht=
199	Kyra	=well earlier I have uh [(.)	=nou ik heb eerder uh [(.)
200	Thierry	[[((talking to Daniel))	[[((praat met Daniel))
201	Kyra	[uh	[uh
202	Teacher	[[((looks at Thierry) thierry ((finger for lips))	[[((kijkt naar Thierry)) thierry ((vinger voor mond))
203		(1.9)	(1.9)
204	Kyra	[eaten three candies while that was not allowed of mom	[drie snoepjes opgegeten terwijl dat niet mocht van mama
205	Simon	[what thierry	[wat thierry
206	Teacher	((curls up with mouth wide open)) oh	((kruipt ineen met mond wijd open)) oh
207		ooh •h and did mom notice that,	ooh •h en heeft mama dat wel gemerkt,
208		(0.8)	(0.8)
209	Kyra	ye:s	ja:
210	Teacher	and what did she say then	en wat zei ze toen dan
211		(0.8)	(0.8)
212	Kyra	you- you cannot take [candies anymore	jullie- je mag niet meer [snoepjes pikken
213	Daniel	[[((talks to Thierry))	[[((praat met Thierry))
214	Kyra	[(.) or else	[(.) want anders
215	Teacher	[[((looks at Daniel and Thierry)) ((finger for lips))	[[((kijkt naar Daniel en Thierry)) ((vinger voor mond))
216	Kyra	I take (.) else you will go upstairs	breng ik- (.) anders ga je naar boven=

Kyra's telling is somewhat disrupted by other children talking and being corrected for that. Still, she completes her telling and ends it by stating that 'this was not allowed'. Herewith, she links back to the initial question and it can be said that there is nothing left unanswered or implicit in relation to the initial question. The teacher produces a response cry (Heritage, 2011) in lines 206-207 (oh ooh) that shows affiliation and shows that the telling is considered to be complete. Nevertheless, the teacher asks Kyra to elaborate on her telling. That this is a next step in the telling is displayed by the use of 'en' (and) followed by a yes-no interrogative (lines 206-207) and by a content question (line 210). These questions of the teacher share characteristics with affiliative responses to stories told in everyday talk in interaction (Stivers, 2008).

4.2.2. Recipient responses

In the foregoing, it has been shown that teachers use recipient responses that are placed after the emotion in the initial question was mentioned by a pupil. This indicated that teachers are oriented to the interactional competence of telling a relevant story. Simultaneously, recipient responses seemed to function as continuers as was for instance the case in excerpt 6. The following excerpts will show that teachers also use recipient responses like 'yes', 'okay' and 'oh' to enable a next step in the telling of a personal event. They do so in two different ways that show an orientation to the interactional competence of telling a personal story in general and telling such a story for the larger audience of the whole classroom.

At first, teachers appear to produce recipient responses after the first turn-constructive unit (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) of a pupil in which (s)he displays an orientation to the story (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). These contributions regularly contain a general reference to something that happened before the here and now by means of 'eens' (once) or 'eerder' (before). Additionally, the orientation reveals whom it concerns. An example of such an orientation and a recipient response of the teacher can be seen in excerpt 12.

Excerpt 12 (Eend, Kikker is bang, 198-201)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
198	Tim	well m- my mom once went to the wc upstairs=	nou m- mijn mamma die ging 'ns zo naar de wc <u>bove</u> =n=
199	Teacher	=yes	=ja
200		(.)	(.)
201	Tim	and then (.) she locked the eh door and then she got stuck=	en toen (.) dee ze de eh deur op slot en toen zat ze vast=

In this case, the class is discussing moments of fear. Tim, starts his telling with introducing an event with his mom. He refers to this event that has taken place before by 'ns' (once). By the teacher's minimal response, she exhibits 'an understanding that an extended unit of talk is underway by another, and that it is not yet, or may not yet be (even ought not yet to be) complete' (Schegloff, 1982: 81). Tim then continues his telling starting with 'en toen' (and then). These recipient responses thus indicate that the teacher understands that a story is underway and enable the pupils to continue their telling of the story.

Besides regular recipient responses like 'yes', 'okay' and 'oh', teachers are also found to use affiliative responses that function as continuers in this particular setting. An example of this can be found in the following excerpt. Here, the class is discussing moments that they were not understood.

Excerpt 13 (Eend, Beer is op vlinder, 89-106)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
89	Rebecca	I did not understand what mom said	ik begreep niet wat mama toen met
		then while brushing [teeth	tandenpoetsen [zei
90	Teacher	[yes	[ja
91	Rebecca	mom actually ment the hard tooth brush	bedoelt mama eigenlijk die harde
		and then	tandenborstel en toen
92		(0.3)	(0.3)
93		e:hm	e:hm
94		(0.3)	(0.3)
95		the one that rotates that one (0.2) and	die eh ronddraait die (0.2) en toen
96		then I was allo- (0.2) eh then I picked	moch- (0.2) eh toen pakte ik de zachte
97		the soft one but then I didn't understand	maar toen begreep ik t niet helemaal en
		it completely and then I got punishme:nt	toen kreeg ik stra:f
98	Teacher	ow	ach
199	Rebecca	then I was allow- I had- I had to go	toen moch- moest ik- moest ik naar
100		upstairs but I did not go and (.) then the	boven maar dat dee ik niet en (.) toen
101		door was open (.) I set ajar (.) then I still	stond de deur open (.) op een kiertje
102		h- hea:rd the [story	had ik gedaan (.) toen had ik t verhaaltje
			nog geh- wel ge[hoo:rd
103	Teacher	[°oh yes° because you did-	[°oh ja° want jij had- (.) had mama
104		(.) did not understand mom but (.) is	niet begrepen maar (.) is er ook wel es
105		there also someone sometimes	iemand ((maakt gebaar)) die (.) <u>jou</u> niet
		((gestures)) who (.) does not	begrijpt
		understand <u>you</u>	

Again, the teacher produces a response token when Rebecca has almost finished her first turn-constructional unit (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). Hereafter, Rebecca continues her telling and stresses that she did not understand her mother very well. By doing so, she links back to the topic under discussion. The teacher then shows affiliation by saying 'ach' (ow) (line 98). This appears to encourage Rebecca to elaborate on her story.

A second, less frequent, sort of recipient responses also enables pupils to continue with their incomplete telling. Yet, these responses of the teachers are occasioned by other pupils disturbing the telling of the personal event. In these cases, teachers appear to make their reciprocity explicit as to display that the telling pupil still has the floor and that the other pupils should respect this as well. In excerpt 14, the teacher simultaneously encourages Peter to continue his story, while she also informs Daniel that he has to pay attention.

Excerpt 14 (Eend, Bijna jarig, 33-45)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
33	Peter	[I once had an idea and arjan as well	[ik had 'es een idee en arjan ook
34	Daniel	((talks to Thierry))	[((praat met Thierry))
35	Teacher	yes (.) [daniel listen please	ja (.) [daniel even luisteren
36	Peter	[I had a robot	[had ik een robot
37		(0.7)	(0.7)
38		and all the robots (.) and then uh	en alle robotten (.) en toen uh
39		(1.7)	(1.7)
40		[and then we had another roller coaster	[en toen hattu wij nog een achtbaan
41	Daniel	[((talks to Thierry))	[((praat met Thierry))
42	Teacher	((nods)) yes	((knikt)) ja
43	Peter	[and then uh arjan had built that one	[en toen had uh arjan die opbouwen
44	Teacher	[((looks at Daniel)) ((points at Peter))	[((kijkt naar Daniel)) ((wijst naar Peter))
45		yes	ja

The first recipient response of the teacher in line 35 is placed after the first turn-constructional unit (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) in which Peter displays an orientation to his story. Right after this, the teacher explicitly asks Daniel to listen to the story. When Daniel continues talking to his neighbor, the teacher provides two other recipient responses. The last one is

preceded by gestures that should make Daniel listen to Peter's story again. These recipient responses show that teachers are oriented to the tellers of the event, as well as to the other recipients of the story and that they consider telling for a broader audience consider to be part of the interactional competence of telling a personal story in a more general, less context-specific, and less institutional sense.

With these two kinds of recipient responses teachers contribute to the production of the telling in general, without steering the telling in the book-specific direction. This illustrates teachers' orientation to the interactional competence of telling a complete personal experience on its own. This orientation also becomes visible in teachers' final responses to tellings of personal events.

4.2.3. Final responses

In addition to assessing the relevance of a story, teachers' final responses also assess the telling of a story in general. They do so by assessing the content of the personal event or by assessing the newsworthiness of a story. In excerpt 10 (repeated), it has already been shown that the teacher assesses the personal experience as 'a good example' (line 53). Additionally, the teacher displays affiliation by expressing that 'she can imagine this'. This particular phrase is seen quite regularly in the data.

Excerpt 10 –repeated - (Kikker, Kleine Ezel en jarige Jakkie, 42-53)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
42	Ben	uh	uh
43		(1.5)	(1.5)
44		dad was also () a bit jealous	papa was ook () een beetje jaloers
45		(0.6)	(0.6)
46		() that he did not want to get sick	() ie niet ziek wou worden
47		(0.4)	(0.4)
48	Teacher	that he- he did not want to get <u>sick</u> no I	dat ie- hij wou niet <u>ziek</u> worden nee dat
49		can imagine that as ↑well	kan ik me ↑ook wel voorstellen
50		(0.9)	(0.9)
51		that he is jealous of all the people that do <u>not</u> get sick	dat ie jaloers is op alle mensen die <u>niet</u> ziek worden
52	Samuel	•hh[h ((raises hand))	•hh[h ((steekt vinger op))
53	Teacher	[yes I think that is a very nice example ben clever	[ja vinnik wel een heel goed voorbeeld ben knap

In lines 48-51 and 53, the teacher is showing a subjunctive assessment (Heritage, 2011) to the content of this telling ('dat kan ik me ook wel voorstellen', I can imagine that as well). In line 53, the teacher also assesses the activity of telling this by saying 'knap' (clever). So, besides assessing the content of the personal experience, the teacher here also assesses the pure activity of telling a personal event with 'knap' (clever).

Slightly different are the assessments of content of the personal events in which a teacher evaluates the ending of a personal event. An example of this can be seen in excerpt 15, in which Kyra has told her experience with being afraid.

Excerpt 15 (Eend, Kikker is bang, 66-74)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
66	Kyra	seth whas afraid and [he had to cry: [and	seth die was bang en [hij moest hui:len [en
67	Teacher	[yes	[ja
68	Kyra	[yes	[ja
69		then mom did not hear that I went to seth very quietly I got him out of bed he came lying in he [came lying in <u>my</u> bed [nicely	toen had mamma dat niet gehoord ging <u>ik</u> heel zachtjes naar seth toe ging ik seth uit bed halen [kwam hij lekker bij <u>mij</u> op bed lig[gen
70	Teacher	[yes	[ja
71		[yes and then you became afraid as <u>well</u>	[ja en werd jij toen <u>ook</u> bang
72		(0.6)	(0.6)
73	Kyra	no ((shakes head))	nee ((schudt hoofd))=
74	Teacher	=oh you did not luckily only seth (.) luckily	=oh jij gelukkig niet alleen <u>seth</u> (.) gelukkig

Here, the teacher's initial question was about becoming afraid by someone else's fear. In the fragment, the end of Kyra's telling is shown displaying that she is telling about her little brother who became afraid and who she comforted. The teacher's follow-up question in lines 70-71 displays the teacher's reference to the initial question. Kyra disaffirms this and herewith did not produce a telling that fit the complete purpose of the teacher's original question. Nevertheless, the teacher assesses the telling in a positive manner by showing her affiliation with the (ending of the) personal event. This evaluation differs from the affiliative assessment that only acknowledges an understanding of the personal event by saying 'I can imagine'.

A less explicit manner to address the content of the personal event is to assess the newsworthiness of a telling, as is the case in excerpt 16. The response to Tim's addition can be considered to be a news receipt marker in third position comparable to these kinds of markers found in everyday talk in interaction.

Excerpt 16 (Eend, Van mij!, 203-208)

	Speaker	Transcript	Dutch Original
203	Teacher	can you play by yourself [as well	kun jij ook wel alleen [spelen
204	Tim	(((nods))) yes=	(((knikt))) ja=
205	Teacher	=and what do you play with then	=en waar speel je dan mee
206		(0.6)	(0.6)
207	Tim	with my new (v [↑er)	met m'n nieuwe (v [↑er)
208	Teacher	[°oh right°	[°oh ja°

Similar to responses of teachers during the telling of an event, responses after a telling of an event thus also share characteristics with responses in everyday talk in interaction, because teachers use news receipt markers and display affiliation to a story that has just been told. This illustrates teachers' orientation to kindergartners' interactional competence of telling a personal experience in general in addition to telling a *relevant* personal experience.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, it has been shown that teachers are oriented to different interactional storytelling competences of their pupils. During shared reading, pupils are offered the opportunity to tell stories based on their personal experiences in relation to picture books with a social-emotional theme. The analyses in this paper have shown that teachers accentuate the interactional

competence of telling a *relevant* personal story or the competence of telling a personal story in a more general, less context-specific, and less institutional sense.

Teachers are found to be mainly oriented to the competence of telling a *relevant* personal story that is in line with the initial question of the teacher and the story that has been read to the pupils. The beginnings of the discussions of personal events generally show a clear connection with the book content and the experiences the book characters encounter. Telling a personal event is therefore often addressed as being an illustration or proof of what happened in the book. Teachers at least orient to this as such. They do so by asking follow-up questions that refer to the initial question and by displaying reciprocity at those places in interaction a pupil refers to the emotion that was touched upon by the initial question. Teachers also orient to the telling of a *relevant* story in their responses after the telling has been completed. They do so more or less explicitly ranging from the use of 'ook' (as well) to explicitly assessing a personal event as being a good example. Additionally, teachers use 'oke' to end a telling of a personal event when the emotion is referred to by the pupil or in a final confirmation question of the teacher that is confirmed by the pupil.

With this orientation to the relation between a pupil's personal story and the book content, it can be said that pupils also practice with a special form of telling a second story. Within the setting of telling personal stories during shared reading, pupils tell second stories that are in line with the 'experience of a book character and therefore display an understanding of the story and the emotional state and experiences of the character in the book. This is comparable to Arminen's (2004) findings in a completely different setting of AA meetings. The orientation to the similarities with the book content herewith also illustrates the institutional nature of the storytelling. Pupils use the storytelling to answer the question of the teacher and thereby implicitly display their knowledge and understanding of the story, although this is not explicitly requested by the use of *known information questions*.

Within this setting, teachers are also oriented to the telling of personal events in general. They orient to this by placing continuers like 'yes' right after the first turn-constructive unit (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974) of a pupil in which an orientation (Labov & Waletzky, 1967) to the event is given. This encourages pupils to continue their telling of a personal event at a stage the content of the event is not provided yet. In addition, teachers orient to the act of telling a personal event in those cases they literally assess this in the ending of a personal event. The orientation to the interactional competence of telling a personal story in general is also shown in these responses of the teachers that share similarities with responses to stories told in everyday talk in interaction. During the telling of personal events, teachers ask follow-up content questions that show an interest in the content of the story and they show affiliative reciprocity that continues the telling of the personal event. After the telling of an event, teachers also show their affiliation by assessing (the end of) a personal event or by displaying understanding of the event. In final position, teachers also use news receipt markers that are less typical in classroom situations.

The interactional behavior of the teachers in this particular setting thus shows that discussing personal events in relation to the content of picture books offers opportunities for pupils to develop educational as well as everyday interactional competences. They are oriented to telling a personal story in general and to telling a *relevant* personal story. Simultaneously, the orientation of the teachers gives sight of their different interactional roles as a story recipient and as a

‘teacher recipient’. Being a story recipient is mostly displayed in teachers’ affiliative responses during and after the tellings of events. Being a teacher recipient is displayed in the responses that are concerned with the connection between the telling of a pupil and the book content/initial question. Additionally, teachers seem to be concerned with the other recipients of the story. In this paper, examples of teachers’ interactional behavior have been shown that were directed at the whole class or re-directed other pupils’ attention. As primary recipient with other recipients present, this seems to be part of teachers’ interactional role as well.

In the multi-party setting of the classroom, stories are thus told in collaboration with the teacher but with a broader audience of the pupils’ peers. Some instances in which the teacher draws other pupils’ attention to the telling of the story have been shown. This indicates that teachers consider the stories to be directed at the whole classroom. However, pupils are not found to display reciprocity in the same sense as the teacher. How peers respond to each other’s stories has received little attention in this paper because of restricted available space. Still, pupils in the data are found to show affiliation with personal stories by telling a second story (Theobald & Reynolds, 2015) or by asking questions about an experience that has been told. Nevertheless, this happens far less frequently and teachers can therefore be said to be the primary recipients of the stories.

This paper provides insight into the co-constructions of telling personal events within the particular setting of the classroom and during or after the specific activity of shared reading of picture books. That the context influences the telling is shown by the interactional competences that are involved. This adds to our knowledge about the co-construction of tellings of personal events in which young children are involved. Theobald and colleagues (Theobald, 2015; Theobald & Reynolds, 2015) also recently showed how children within this age range tell stories. In their case, children share their stories with peers. This stresses that teacher’s help is not necessary for children to tell a story. However, the data in this paper show that teachers do contribute to the telling of personal stories and that this involves more than displaying reciprocity as is described by Lerner (1992) as assisted storytelling.

These findings regarding the ways in which a teacher contributes and responds to the telling of a personal event show that, as was found by Koole (2012) in secondary classrooms, teachers assess different pupil competences. This exceeds the more traditional idea that teachers evaluate pupils’ contributions in a more definite sense. Besides the assessments, in the data in this paper teachers are also found to contribute to different competences during the telling of a story. So, it is not just in assessing the complete story that teachers give indications of what they acknowledge in a story. They also do so when asking follow-up questions and displaying reciprocity at different moments in time during the telling of a personal story. In doing so, they show alignment as well as affiliation with the personal experiences.

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¹ The picture books and instructions used in this study are respectively selected and developed within the PICTURE Books and CONcept Development (PICO) project; a cooperation between the Freudenthal Institute Utrecht, the University of Tilburg and the University of Groningen.

² All excerpts are characterised by a fictional kindergarten name (Kikker, Eend, Haas), the picture book and the line numbers of the original transcripts. Because of the readability and length of the paper, it is decided not to provide a literal word-by-word translation in the transcripts. This is considered legitimate, since Dutch does not differ that much from English and this is not needed for the conclusions reached in this paper.